123 Finally, mention must be made of the fact that there were two anthropologists in the family, one male and one female. There are some situations in which a male has a significant advantage, and others, a female. For example, I had a distinct advantage with regard to men's drinking parties, dirty-story telling, sex life, etc. On the other hand, it proved exceedingly difficult for me to interview women under 30 on many subjects and with regard to sex, almost any female at an age under 70 was nearly impossible. Indeed, for an anthropological study of Chinese society, I believe a Western woman has an advantage. She is fully accepted as a woman by the women and simultaneously is almost accepted as a man by the men. Although we each studied separate villages, we inevitably participated in the affairs of both. Discussion of data and interpretations constantly stimulated and encouraged both of us for each could bring a fresh insight into the other's problems.

124 In addition to the usual techniques, there were
• 125 three special approaches. Because we eventually desired to compare the two villages, ten months after commencing field work, we jointly prepared an open-ended interview schedule which was independently administered to all adults in each of the two villages. An interview schedule prepared by Dr. Gallin was administered to a sample of village
124 residents. Finally, a number of interviews were conducted

146 portions of meat, fish and eggs. The doctor also stated that there were probably insufficient quantities of niacin, vitamin A, and iron although not as serious as the first listed items. Finally, outside of the citrus season, there were shortages of ascorbic acid.

125 262 The daily pattern of eating was checked in a number of different ways. I had five cooperating households (a stratified sample) keep records of food for a month which we checked each evening. Food was richer the first few days, probably indicating a "face saving" process. A second method was to check all 66 households on a single evening for that day's consumption. Alternatively, houses were checked following a single meal. Finally, random interviews on any subject periodically noted the food being prepared or recently consumed.

262 Polished rice was the main item of the diet in about 45% of the households; a combination of rice and sweet potatoes in about 52%; and primarily sweet potatoes only in about 3%. All households eat sweet potatoes, as a kind of fried pancake, steamed, or as a type of mush. [178] According to villagers, the trend over time has been towards a greater emphasis on rice and a lesser emphasis on sweet potatoes. Rice, if available, is eaten at every 261 855 meal, hot, cold, or as hsi-fan (a thin gruel). All villagers agree that gruel should not be eaten in the morning by any man who must do hard work in the fields as it

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Sanlei Ts'un

562 serious status inconsistency problem. After graduation
882 from grade school, girls can immediately find jobs with
[464] good pay in the factory while there are few equivalent opportunities for boys. Villagers sometimes claim that today, perhaps girls are worth more than boys.

Household Money Management

511 We had several households[5] keep detailed budgets
125 for us and periodically discussed budgets with all villagers. Among farmers, it is quite difficult to accurately discover the standard of living for they consume part of their crops without any purchase records and barter other items. The families with wage incomes are easier to evaluate and I have extrapolated from them to determine reasonable standards for the village.

592 Given the values usually associated with Chinese households, i.e., patrilocality, patriarchy, and a patrilineality, it might be logically predicted that a senior male would usually assume major responsibility for financial management of the budget but Sanlei data would refute the prediction as indicated in Table 4.

592 In 39.7% of the households, a man was primarily
593 responsible for managing the budget. In some cases, he gave his wife a periodic allowance for groceries and in others, he did most of the purchasing himself. In either case, he doled out money as requested for special

217 married, are so considered by villagers, and the unit con-
183 stitutes a family in village affairs even if not officially
588 registered. In this example, the couple claim that it is less onerous to live together and adopt the children than to obtain a divorce and remarry because marriage to someone who is divorced is negatively evaluated. (The way I first learned of two of the three cases of marriage where one partner had been divorced was through a check of official records.) Although the man said it was not a factor, the fact that the brother of the first wife was the sworn brother of the man in the example cited above may have been important. I was not able to obtain agreement about the significance of this point.

125 In the discussion to follow, the actual residence
591 patterns based on the field census are used rather than official records. A family is included in the village if a majority of its members sleep in the village a majority of the time. A family officially registered as divided but in fact living and cooking together as a single unit is counted as a single unit (one case). Conversely, a family which had not divided officially but was living and eating separately in two or more units was counted as more than one unit (two cases). An individual is considered a resident if he regards Sanlei as his home and he sleeps in the village at least one night per week. Thus, a girl who works in a factory and sleeps in a dormitory but usually

125 591 spends one or two nights at home is a resident. On the other hand, a boy in the army is not a resident.

161 162 With the above standards, as of September 1, 1966, the actual population of Sanlei Ts'un was 409, divided into 66 households, an average household size of 6.2 members.

Family Types and Distribution

596 [183] The villagers believe the patrilineal extended family (ta chi ting) is an ideal. In any discussion, the largest family in Sanlei is often used as an example of the best family and the old father, Liao Mou-tu, who is still the chia chang is held as a model of sagacity and wisdom. A diagram of his family, a single economic unit, appears in Figure 5. This example approaches the maximum for the definition. An extended family[3] usually contains at least three generations although this is not a defining characteristic (Lang, 1946:14). Minimumly, to be classified as an extended family, there must be at least two marriages in the same generation or in non-adjacent generations. An absolute minimum size extended family would have four members: two brothers and their respective wives. The family may be broken but still meets the minimal definition, i.e., a marriage counts even if one partner is dead. [621] There are eight extended families in Sanlei, 12.1% of the 66 households, ranging in size from 6 to 19

217 household registrations, the home of origin and the home
592 of destination.

592 Another concept to be considered in family size is the creation of new independent units. In Sanlei, death must be registered but a death never creates a new unit, for any unit continues in spite of membership changes. New units are only created by the process of family division, a formal event which must be registered in the public office. In a division into two or more new units, one of the new units will usually be considered as a continuation of the old. It is possible, however, for a family unit to disappear. As previously stated, a unit may consist of only one person and this unit would disappear with his death or adoption or if the individual married into another unit.

• 125
592 Again, because of the errors associated with the official records, the following discussion is based on data which was gathered through interviews in the village. Marriages were only considered if one of the original partners was still alive and residing in the village. There was at least one interview with each living spouse. There were 94 marriages which met this requirement, but this meant more than 94 interviews for in many cases both
[597] partners were still alive. Similarly, adoptions were only considered if one of the original participants was still living in the village. This was usually one of the

125 adopting-in or adopting-out parents but in a few cases,
592
597 only the adopted child.

Regular Marriage

58 There is a traditional ideal form of marriage, one
[83] arranged by a matchmaker between two families who are strangers or who are at least not already related, the boy's family slightly richer than the girl's, and with the couple residing permanently in the home of the groom's father. This marriage should occur when the male completes his military service and he should be two to four years older than his wife but a greater age span is acceptable.

592 Although all but patrilineal parallel cousin marriages are permitted for parts of China, no cousin marriages were recorded for Sanlei Ts'un as villagers claimed they were acceptable but undesirable. This differs from Gallin's study on Taiwan's West Central plain where cousin marriages were estimated to total about four per cent (1966:153). There is absolute surname exogamy. Additionally, although not as strongly sanctioned, marriage between members of certain paired surnames are not permitted, i.e., Chien and Liao, although there was one example in the village. Outside of these restrictions, there is no patterned regularity indicating certain surnames commonly marry each other. Statistically, there is a strong tendency towards

581 842 597 children, an adoption is still likely in order to provide security in old age. Historically, Taiwan has had a high sex ratio (Barclay, 1954:212) and nearly all females were able to marry; the rate exceeded 99% married every year since 1905 for women over 40. However, some men were necessarily without mates; never-married men over 40 always exceeded 4% for the same period (Barclay, 1954:211). Most men who never marry have some kind of social defect such as poverty or a drinking problem but many of these men also adopt children such as the two never-married men in Sanlei with adopted children.

842 178 183 125 Martin Yang reports that the number of children desired in the "ideal" family for Taiwan has been decreasing over time (1962:69). This finding is not based on a longitudinal study but on a comparative study using respondents in different generations. Interviews in Sanlei village support his findings. However, all attempts to simulate longitudinal studies by assuming an age range suffer the same obvious defects. For example, if Sanlei women beyond child-bearing ages are divided into two groups, those who bore more than four children and those who bore less, there is a strong positive correlation between the actual size of a woman's family and her report of an "ideal" size. For young married women, it is possible that the attitude may change in time, i.e., her desires and expectancies may become congruent with her real situation. Nevertheless, the number of children desired for an "ideal" family is

183 178 842